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VIII.—A STUDY OF THE METRICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH POEM *THE PEARL*.¹

The difference in the treatment of final unstressed *-e* among the various ME. dialects has long since been noticed. In Nth., according to Morsbach (*Mittelenglische Grammatik* §§ 6–9), it became silent (“ist stumm”) about 1350; in Ml. it was in part sounded throughout the fourteenth century, though as Morsbach remarks, “in vielen fällen ist es schon verstummt;” in WSt. and MSt. it was in general retained throughout the century; while Kt. on the whole retains it intact quite up to the middle of the century.

The usage of the various districts of Ml., however, has not yet been fully investigated. That of EML. (in Chaucer) has probably been most fully worked out, through the labors of Ellis, Child, ten Brink, Kittredge, and others. Concerning *The Pearl* (NWML.), however, Mr. Henry Bradley wrote in 1890 (*The Academy* xxxviii 249): “The question of the final *e* in the poem needs investigation. It is quite obvious that in many cases the *e* (whether written or not) is not sounded as it would have been in Chaucerian verse.” It is important to note, too, that as a specimen of NWML. of the second half of the fourteenth century, *The Pearl* is in its metrical structure well-nigh unique, and because of this structure is of great value in determining the question of the pronunciation of *-e* at this time. Moreover, since its author was probably contemporary with Chaucer, it affords a convenient means of comparing the WML. with the London usage.

The present paper is offered as a contribution to the history of final unstressed *-e* in WML. It was begun as an investigation of this subject alone; but considerable data on

¹ For the suggestion which led me to write this paper, and for valuable assistance in its preparation, I am indebted to Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

other points having accumulated, it was afterward decided to present in addition a brief treatment of some of these points.¹ The arrangement of material in the paper follows that of the Metrical Chapter in Professor Kittredge's *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* (Kt.). References (by section) are made to this book and to ten Brink's *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst* (tenB.). The text used is that of Morris (EETS. 1, 2d ed. 1869), except as more recent emendations have been adopted. The latter have been noted in their proper places.

I. 1. Weak *-e* is elided before a vowel and usually before *h*; but in the definite article *-e* is sometimes preserved (see II 2, cp. Kt. 125, tenB. 269).

(a) Before a vowel: in *vche*² *araye*, 5; *My breste* in *bale*, 18; so *swete* a *sange*, 19. In the first 500 lines, 166 instances occur.

(b) Before *h*. Elision of weak *e* takes place before *he*, *hys*, *hym*, *hit*, *ho*, *hir*, *her* (plu.), and *hem* (with one exception, l. 551, see I 2); before *haue* (inf., pr. ind. and sjc.), *hatg*,³ and *hade* (with one exception, l. 1142, see I 2), whether independent or auxiliary; before *hente*, *heue*, *holde*, *hope*, *hurt*; before *here*, *heben*, *hyder*; before *harm*, *holt*, *honour*, *how* ("hue"), *hyre*.

Examples are: *Hys prese*, *hys prys*, 419; *her wyll* *ho wayneg*, 131; *To þenke hir color*, 22; & *wolde her coroune*, 451; *aboute hem bydeg*, 75; *Ofte haf I wayted*, 14; *What wyrde hatg hyder*, 249; of that || *place had þre gateg*, 1034; of *happę more hente*, 1195; to God || *wordeg schulde heue*, 314; *þenne helde vch sware*, 1029; *oure hope is drest*, 860; *paȝ he were hurt*, 1142; *Sir, fele here þorCHASE*, 439; *No gladder gome || heþen into Grece*, 231; *Er date of daye || hider arn we wonne*, 517; *ofte harmeg hate*, 388; *Bot by þyse holteg*, 921; *What more honour* (Gollancz's reading), 475; *þe topasȝe twynne how*, 1012; *What resonabele hyre*, 523.

¹The general structure of the poem has already been described: see Trautmann, *Angl.* I 119; Kaluza, *Est.* XVI 178; Gollancz, *Pearl* p. XXIII f.

²In the use of signs I have in general followed Kittredge: *-e* (in italicized words *-e*) indicates a final *e* written but elided before a vowel or *h*. *-ë* (or *-ë*) indicates a final *e* pronounced before a vowel or *h*. Used over a vowel in the interior of a word the diæresis indicates that the vowel is pronounced. *-[ë]* indicates that the metre requires an *e* to be pronounced at the end of a word which is written without *-e* in the ms. *-ę* indicates a final *-e* written but not sounded before a consonant (not *h*). *-ę-* indicates syncopated *e* (and so of other vowels).

³I have followed Morris in using the character *ȝ* for (a) *z* (sonant spirant), (b) *h* (guttural and palatal spirant), and (c) *y* (consonant).

2. Hiatus of *-e* before a vowel is not found; before *h* it occurs rarely.

Ex. *pesę bot an ourē || hem con streny*, 551; to *hellē hete* (where *helle* is gen.), 643; *þy hyȝ[ē] hylleg*, 678; & *woundē hade*, 1142.

II. Elision of weak *-e* in monosyllables (cp. Kt. 128).

1. *-e* of the definite article is generally elided. The following instances occur:

The adubbemente, 85 (cp. 109, 121); *þe empyre*, 454; *þe apocalyppeȝ*, 787, 1020, (apokalypce) 983, (apocalyppee) 1008; *þe apostel*, 836, 944, 984, 985, 996, 1008, 1020, 1032, (apostel) 1053; *þe aldermen*, 887; *þe vrþe*, 893; *þe olde gulte*, 942; *þe emerade*, 1005.

2. *-e* of the definite article remains unelided in the following instances:

& *ay þe offer*, *þe alder þay were* (here *þe* < OE. instr.), 621; *þē innossent*, 666, (innosent) 684, 696, (innocent) 720; *þē olde*, 941; *þē aȝtþe*, 1011; *þē enleuenþe gent*, 1014; *þē amatȝst*, 1016.

3. *ne* regularly elides *-e* before a vowel.

Ex. *Nis*, 100; *nys*, 951; *ne is*, 1071. Cp. *nif he nere*, Cl. 21.

NOTE. No instance of *ne* before *h* occurs. Before *w* in *wȝte*, *wȝte*, *ne* combines with the following word: *pou ne woste in worlde*, 293; *I ne wȝste in þis worlde*, 65.

III. Pronunciation of final unstressed *-e* before consonants.

1. The following considerations lead to the belief that before consonants the final unstressed *-e* of our text is generally silent:

(a) In the first 500 lines 208 words occur (not counting words which come at the end of the line or immediately before the caesura) in which the metre is best satisfied by not sounding the *-e* before a consonant (not *h*), as against 43 words in which *-e* must be pronounced. Of these 208 words 11.54 per cent. are proparoxytone words (e. g. *wyschande*, 14; *fortune*, 98; *enclȳnande*, 236), in which *-e* earliest lost syllabic value (cp. tenB. 191).

NOTE. It is interesting to compare these figures with some recording Chaucer's usage. In the first 500 lines of *The Book of the Duchesse* (written in similar metre, iambic tetrameter), there are 47 words (not counting words which come at the end of the line or just before the caesural pause) in which the metre is satisfied by not sounding the *-e*, and 115 words in which *-e* must be pronounced.

(b) Variations of spelling in the same word, where *-e* is not pronounced even when written: *blys*, 729, *blysse*, 478; *coroun*, 255, *coroune*, 205; *emerad*, 118, *emerade*, 1005; *fayr*, 46, *fayre*, 1178; *gret*, 250, *grete*, 237; *ioy*, 395, *ioye*, 1197; *lamb*, 407, *lombe*, 1064; *quen*, 444, *quene*, 468.¹

2. But final unstressed *-e* is to be pronounced in the following words (the arrangement is alphabetical):

(a) Words in which *-e* goes back to an OE. or ON. inflectional ending or to OF. *-e*.

(α) Nouns: *blys*[*sē*], 286 (dat.); *brymmē*, 232 (dat.); *facē*, 809 (<OF. face); *gemmē*, 118, 289 (<OF. gemme); *glymmē*, 1088 (dat.); *gracē*, 670 (dat., <OF. grace); *groundē*, 1173 (dat.); *heldē* (here accepting Gollancz's emendation, which seems better than Morris's reading), 1193 (dat.); *hellē*, 643 (gen. or dat.); *hert*[*ē*], 17, 51; *hertē*, 128, 176² (acc., <OE. heortan); *lompē*, 1046 (<OF. lampe); *lotē*, 238 (<ON. dat. lāte); *logē*, 119 (<OE. laġu); *moē*, 142 (<OF. mote); *myndē*, 1130 (dat.); *ourē*, 551 (<OF. ūre); *perrē*, 730 (<OF. perrée); *sorgē*, 352 (dat.); *spechē*, 793, 1132 (dat.); *step*[*pē*], 683 (cp. stepe, Cl. 905, and MDu. steppe); *sunne*, 83 (<OE. wfem.); *sutē*, 203 (<OF. suite); *tongē*, 100 (acc., <OE. tungan); *tong*[*ē*], 225 (nom., <OE. tunge); *vynē*, 535 (<OF. vine); *wollē*, 844 (dat.); *worldē*, 476, 657, 761 (dat.); *woundē*, 1142 (acc. plu.); *ȝerē*, 588 (dat., cp. MnE. to-day, to-morrow); *yndē*, 1016 (<OF. inde).

(β) Adjectives: *allē*, 292, 1091 (nom. plu.); *brodē*, 650 (dat.); *derē*, 758 (wnom.); *fayrē*, 169, 177, 946 (wacc.); *formē*, 639 (wnom. plu.); *fourē*, 886 (wnom. plu.); *fuyrē*, 1006 (wnom.); *fyrre*, 148 (wnom.); *fyrst*[*ē*], 486, 635, 1000 (wdat.), 999 (wnom.); *fyrte*, 54 (dat. plu.); *gret*[*ē*], 616 (wgen., cp. grete, 637; grete, plu., Gaw. 2490); *hyȝē*, 395, 1051 (wnom.), 401 (stnom.); *hyȝ*[*ē*], 678 (wacc. plu.); *ilke*[*ē*], 995 (wacc., cp. ilke, Gaw. 1385); *kyndē*, 276 (wnom.); *long*[*ē*], 586 (dat.); *much*[*ē*], 776 (dat., cp. muche, Piers Plowm. A viii 70); *nwē*, 155 (nom. plu.), 882 (wacc.); *newē*, 894 (nom. plu.); *onē*, 312 (wnom.); *quytē*, 1137 (wdat.); *rych*[*ē*], 68 (nom. plu., cp. ryche, 770), 1036 (dat. plu.); *samē*, 1099 (wdat.); *schenē*, 965 (wnom.); *self*[*ē*], 1046, 1076 (wnom.); *styllē*, 20 (stnom.); *tenbē*, 136 (wdat.); *brydē*, 833 (and possibly *bryddē*, 299; wnom.); *bryd*[*dē*], 1004 (wdat.); *wlonk*[*ē*], 122 (dat. plu.); *wynnē*, 154 (pred. nom. plu.), 647 (stnom.); *your*[*ē*], 497 (wdat.).

NOTE 1. Line 690 is obviously imperfect. Bradley's proposed emendation (*The Academy* Sept. 6, 1890, p. 201 f.) could be scanned, How koynt | tise onour | ē || con aquyle, since the poet usually retains the French accent. If we accept Gollancz's emendation, How kyntly oure lord him con aquyle, the line will be taken out of the present discussion.

¹ None of the words cited occur at the end of the line; cp. Summary 14.

² We might also read: *myn herte a brunt*, 174.

NOTE 2. Line 997 lacks the catchword *Iohan*. If we accept Gollancz's restoration, the line will scan, *As Iohan | þise stoneȝ || in writ | con nemme*.

(γ) Verbs: *askē*, 316, 580 (inf.); *ask[ē]*, 564 (inf.); *carp[ē]*, 381, 949 (inf.); *corondē*, 767 (pt. 3 sg.); *delē*, 606 (pr. 3 sg. s.jc.); *glentē*, 1001 (pt. 3 sg.); *herdē*, 873 (pt. 1 sg.); *hyrē*, 507 (inf.); *maddē*, 359 (inf.); *neddē*, 1044 (pt. 3 sg.); *oȝtē*, 341 (pt. 2 sg.); *setē*, 1201 (inf.); *takē*, 552 (inf.).

(δ) Adverbs: *fastē*, 54; *semē*, 190; *berinnē*, 1061.

(ε) Prepositions: *byforē*, 885; *bytwenē*, 140.

(b) Words in which -e has been taken on in ME.

Nouns: *blyssē*, 397, 611 (nom., -e borrowed from dat. sg. by analogy); *Quat-kyn[nē]* þyng, 771 (< OE. cynn; -e borrowed from dat., cp. kinne, Piers Plowm. B v 639; kinne, Orm. 1051); *worldē*, 743 (acc., cp. ll. 476, 657, 761).

NOTE. These instances of the pronunciation of -e occur in alliterative phrases in about 35 per cent. of the examples. Some of these were probably stock phrases in alliterative poetry, e. g., *fayrē face*, 169, *hyȝ[ē]* hylleȝ, 678. Cp. tenB. 335 and Fuhrman, *Die alliterierenden Sprachformeln in Morris' EE. Allit. Poems und im Sir Gawayne*.

IV. Elision of close -e (cp. Kt. 129).

1. The poet seems to elide close -e in *me*, *þe*, *we*, *he*, *ne* ("neque") before a vowel or *h* when the metre demands it.

The following cases occur: *me* eschaped, 187; & don *me* in þys del, 250; & pyȝt *me* in perleȝ, 768; þou telleȝ *me* of Ierusalem, 919; & busyeȝ *þe* aboute, 268; I hete *þe* arn heterly, 402; I have *þe* aquylde, 967; Oȝer proferen *þe* oȝt, 1200; We haf standen her, 519; When he hit schal efte, 332; Hymself to onsware he is not dylle, 680; So closed he hys mouth, 803; Ne how fer of folde, 334; Ne Arystotel nawber, 751.

NOTE 1. The case of *þe* l. 362 is not considered. Gollancz omits the word altogether.

NOTE 2. No instance of elided -e in *ye* occurs.

2. Close -e in the above words is not elided before a vowel or *h* in the following instances :

þou traweȝ || *me in* | þis dene, 295; I do | *me ay* || in hys mys | ȝecorde, 366; & take *me halte*, 1158; *þe oȝte* better, 341; I wolde *þe aske*, 910; *þe on* þis syde, 975; So fare *we alle*, 467; Sír, ȝe *háf*, 257; ȝe *han* ben bope, 373; Why stande ȝe *idel*, 515, (stonde) 533; Ne knowe ȝe *of*, 516; þer moȝt ȝe *hede*, 1051.

3. Instances of the elision of close -e before a vowel or *h* in other words are rare (cp. tenB. 269).

But cete of God, 952; I syȝe | þat cyty || of gret renoun, 986; þis noble cite of ryche enpresse, 1097 (cannot be full ecthlipsis); þe he nēuer so swyft, 571; In Iudee hit is, 922.

4. Examples of hiatus are numerous.

(a) Before vowels: as *ble of ynde*, 76; to *fre of dede*, 481; þe nwe | ciitē || u Ierú | salém, 792; to *be outfleme*, 1177.

(b) Before *h*: & *se her* adubement, 96; oþer much *be hys* rewarde, 604; schal *se hys* face, 675; þou may *be innome*, 703; con *se hyt* be to-done, 914; He gef | vus to *be* || *hys* hom | ly hyne, 1211.

V. Elision or slurring of -o (cp. Kt. 130).

1. Final -o of the preposition *to* is sometimes slurred before vowels, rarely before *h*.

(a) Before vowels: I wan to a water, 107; Er moste | þou ceu | er || to oþer | counsayl, 319; þe olde | Ierú | salem || to yn | derstonde, 941; tyl þou to a hil be veued, 976; & to euen with þat worþly lygt, 1073.

(b) Before *h*: & nw | [ë] men || to hys vyne he broȝte, 527 (if we accept Gollancz's scansion).

2. Of the slurring of -o in other words no instances occur.

3. Instances of hiatus with -o are:

(a) In *to*. (a) Before vowels: to on of þo, 557; to askē dome, 580; dotȝ to enclýne, 630; þer-to is bent, 664; to onsware, 680; to ysaye, 819. (β) Before *h*: to haue, 132; to heuen lyȝte, 500; werkmen to hys vyne, 507; to hys porpos, 508; vnto hym brayde, 712; to hys bōnerté, 762; to hým wardeȝ gón, 820; Grouelyng to his fete, 1120; þer-to hade had delyt, 1140.

(b) In other words. (a) Before vowels: in wo ay wragte, 56; bot blo & blynde, 83; mó iwysse, 151; pennē véreȝ ho ép, 177; pennē ros ho vp, 437; For ho is quene, 456; Ryȝt so is vch, 461; Lo! euen, 740; To mo of his mysterys, 1194. (β) Before *h*: Ho haldeȝ, 454; fro hém repárde, 611; þat fro hym ȝede, 713; fro heuen, 873.

NOTE. Of elision of -a no instances occur.

VI. Slurring of -y (cp. Kt. 131).

1. Final -y is sometimes united by synclisis with the vowel of the following word.

þat wórþly || I wót | & wéne, 47; But Crystes mersy & Mary & Ion, 383; Now for synglerty o hyr dousour, 429; a lady of lasse aray, 491; þe merci of God, 576; so holy in hys prayere, 618; Pitously of hys debonerté, 798; So cumly a pakke, 929; To loke | on þe glory || of þys grac[i]ous gote,

934; þer glory & blysse, 959; my frely I wolde be þere, 1155; So sodenly of, 1178.

2. Before *h*, *-y* is generally retained.

lelly hyȝte, 305; *by hys lettrure*, 751.

VII. 1. Weak *-e* in two successive syllables (cp. Kt. 132, tenB. 256).

Ten Brink's rule holds in the inflection of (a) nouns, e. g. *schyldereȝ*, 214, *heuenȝ*, 423 (cp. *heuenesse*, 735, though *heuenȝ*, 441 would seem to show an occasional variation in pronunciation); and (b) verbs, e. g., *powdered*, 44; *pynakled*, 207; *suffred*, 554; *profereȝ*, 1200.

2. Weak *-e-* which is inserted between *v* and a strong syllable and sometimes after *th* (tenB. 61, III) likewise suffers syncope.

Ex. *liureȝ*, 1108; *neuer*, 262; *oþereȝ*, 450. In *euer* and *neuer* the final vowel (<OE. æfre, ME. efere, evere) never appears in the text, and in the majority of cases both words are monosyllabic (*euër* in 3 instances, *euer*—more probably *e'er*—in 19; *neuër* in 15 instances, *neuer* or *ne'er* in 27).

VIII. Apocope of weak *-e* immediately after the syllable bearing the main stress. Ten Brink's rule (260, Kt. 135) holds in general.

The only exception noted is *byforë*, 885, cp. *byfore*, 49.

IX. Slurring of *-e-* in final syllables when the noun accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding (tenB. 259, Kt. 136).

1. *-eȝ* may or may not slur *-e-*, the number of instances where it does not slur (we are of course not considering words in which *-eȝ* comes just before the caesural pause) being slightly in the majority. E. g., *stretȝ*, 1025, *nedȝ*, 344, *leþȝ*, 377, *quykeȝ*, 1179, *blameȝ*, 275, *elleȝ*, 32, 491, 567, *agaynȝ*, 79; but *frytȝ*, 87, *sydȝ*, 6, *wobȝ*, 151, *lokȝ*, 1134, *blomȝ*, 27, *ellȝ*, 130, *graynȝ*, 31. Ten Brink's rule (227) that *-eȝ* is syllabic after *c*, *ss*, *s*, *sh*, *ch*, *g*, and mute + liquid, holds good. The only apparent exceptions are *ryseȝ*, 191, which may be changed to *ros*, cp. ll. 437, 506, 519, and *wascheȝ*, 655, in which *-eȝ* must be regarded as part of an anapaestic foot (pat wásch | eȝ awáy ||). In about two-thirds of the words in which *-eȝ* is syllabic, the syllable forms the first part of the last foot of the verse.

2. *-ed*. In *-ede* of the pret. sg. both *e*'s generally lose their syllabic value, and even *-ed* generally slurs *-e-*, except after roots ending in *t* or *d*, as in

MnE. Exceptions are: *iuggēd*, 7; *stalkēd*, 152; *lokēd*, 167; *formēd*, 747; *ioynēd*, 1009; *waknēd*, 1171; *ogtē*, 341; *corondē*, 767; *herdē*, 873; *glentiē*, 1001; *neddē*, 1044. -ed of the pp. likewise generally slurs -e-, with the same limitation. Exceptions are: *merkēd*, 142; *vnlappēd*, 214; *passēd*, 528; *apassēd*, 540; *dampnēd*, 641; *enurnēd*, 1027; *dasēd*, 1085; *praysēd*, 1112.

3. -en. Regularly syncopated are *arn*, 384, *wern*, 71, *han*, 373, 554, 776, (*hauēn*) 859; likewise the greater number of past participles, and of pres. and pret. 3d plurals. One instance of the gerund, *to lystēn*, 880, occurs. Even in other kinds of words there is a strong tendency to syncopate the *e*. The one exception is *withoute*, which syncopates in only 9 out of 27 cases (*withoute*, 644, 695). Syncope is more frequent when the following word begins with a vowel; but it does not necessarily occur in the latter case.

4. -er is slurred when the metre demands it, and this happens in the majority of cases. In most instances the following word begins with a consonant. *euwer* slurs oftener than *neuer* (see VII 2). *oþer* (= or) invariably counts as one syllable. Even *oþer* (= other) usually slurs; the exceptions occur in ll. 206, 209, 219, 842. *nawþer* (*nawþer*) slurs in four instances out of seven.

5. -el is also slurred where the metre demands it. The author's usage is about equally divided between slurred and unslurred -el. *apostel* slurs three times out of eight; *lyttel* four times out of seven. In the majority of instances in which slurring occurs the next word begins with a consonant.

6. -em. The only word noted is *baptem*, which apparently slurs in l. 653 (cp. l. 627), though it may be read without the slur since it comes directly before the caesura. Cp. XIV 2 i.

NOTE. The remarks in this section do not in general apply to syllables coming just before the caesura, where it cannot be determined whether syncope (slurring) takes place or not. We may suppose that at least it was not so marked as elsewhere in the verse.

X. The treatment of interior unstressed -e- varies, as in Chaucer (Kt. 137); but the tendency is decidedly toward syncopation.

E. g. *denely*, 51; *iuēler*, 265, 289, 301, 730, (*iouēler*) 734, but *iuēler*, 264, 276, 288, 300, (*iuēlere*) 252; *kyndely*, 369; *louely*, 693, (*louyly*) 565; *makeleȝ*, 435 (though this may be a trochee), 733, 757, 780, 784; *maskelȝ* (which the poet interchanges with *makeleȝ*, cp. 732, 733, 756, 757, though they are distinct in 780), 745, 900, 923, (*maskelleȝ*) 769, 781, but *maskëlleȝ*, 756, 768, 780, (*maskëlles*) 744, (*mascëlleȝ*) 732, depending upon the position of the word in the verse; *moteleȝ*, 899, 925, 961; *nawþeless*, 877, (*nawþelese*) 889, (*neuer þe lese*) 913, but *nawþëlès*, 950 (cp. XI 2), (*neuer þē les*) 901; *rapely*, 363; *semblaunt*, 211, but *sembëlaunt*, 1143; *sengeley*, 8; *vrþely*, 135; *funde-mentȝ*, 993; *couēnaunt*, 562, *couēnaunde*, 563; *rennaunt*, 1160; *gēnēraciōun*, 827; *holtȝwodeȝ*, 75; etc. On the other hand we find *ymbēgon*, 210; *adubbē-*

ment, 84, 85, 96, 108, 109, 120, (adùb[bě]mènt) 72, but *dubbement*, 121; *ymbë-pygte*, 204, 1052; *myssëgeme*, 322. but *myssetente*, 257.

XI. Of syncope of other vowels than *e* and of consonants (Kt. 138) several instances occur.

1. *-y-*: *bodyly*, 478, 1090; *gentyleste*, 1015; *hardyly*, 3, but *hardÿly*, 695; *ladyly*, 774; *worbyly*, 47, (worthyly) 846, (worply) 1133; *ladyschyp*, 578 (this can hardly be complete syncope); *damysel*, 489, but *damÿselle*, 361; *charyte*, 470; *erytage*, 443, but *herÿtage*, 417.

2. *-a-*: *paradyse*, 248, 321, but *parädÿse*, 137; *apocalyppe*, 787, (apocalyppece) 944, (apokalypce) 983, but *apöcälÿppe*, 996, 1020, (apokälÿpe) 834, (apocälÿppece) 866; *Ierusalem*, 793, 805, 817, 829, 841, 919, 941, 950 (though the line may be scanned: & Ieru | salem || hygt boþe | nawþeles), but *Ierusälem*, 792, 804, 816, 828, 840; *Salamon*, 689; *Iohan* invariably counts as one syllable (spelled *Ihoñ*, 984, *Ion*, 383; rimes with *con*, 818); *margarys*, 199, (mariorys) 206, but *margÿrye*, 1037; *topasye* (< MLat. *topacius*), 1012; *ama-tÿst*, 1016; *reiqte*, 770.

3. *-o-*: *innösent*, 684, 696, (innöcent) 720, but *innöscente*, 672, (innöcent) 625, (innössent) 666 (cp. *innöcens*, 708); *resonabele*, 523 (cp. *vnrësounable*, 590); *brogzt*, 628 (cp. *brog[t]*, 286); *cöroun*, 237, 255, *cöroune*, 451, but *cöroune*, 205; *cörounde*, 480, (cöronde) 767, 1101, but *cörounde*, 415; *sup-plantöreg*, 440.

4. *-th-*: On *oper* (= or), *nowþer* see IX 4. *weþer* best satisfies the metre when read as one syllable (130, 581, 604, 826), though it may be regarded as part of an anapaestic foot.

5. *-v-*: On *euer*, *neuer* see IX 4. With *paraunter*, 588, cp. *aventure*, 64. *naule* occurs in l. 459, cp. *nauel* Pat. 278.

6. Even *-wh-* may have been syncopated if pronounced as *w* (cp. *wy*, 533, 564) in *nawhere*, 932: this satisfies the metre better than the dissyllabic word.

XII. Apocope of consonants (Kt. 139).

Few unmistakable instances of apocope occur: *runnen*, 26 (: *sunne*); *runnen*, 874, is best scanned *runnen*; *founden*, 1203, probably leaves off *-en*. But considering the inflected words in *-en* (pres. and pret. pl. and pp.), we find that *-en* loses its syllabic value before consonants in 66 per cent. of cases, showing that at the time of composition the consonant had begun to disappear in the spoken language, though it was still written.

XIII. Synizesis (Kt. 142) occurs regularly.

1. *-ia-*: *glory* &, 959; *maryage*, 414, (*maryag*) 778; *redy* &, 591; *specyal*, 938.

2. *-ie-*: *feryed*, 946; *myryer*, 850; *myryeste*, 199; *oryent*, 3.

3. -io-: *body on*, 62; *contrysseyoun*, 669; *generacyoun*, 827; *glorious*, 799; *gromylyoun*, 43; *legyounes*, 1121; *precious*, 4 et pas.; *Pymalyon*, 750; *pyonys*, 44. But *pytȝ of*, 1206.
4. -yi-: *holy in*, 618.

XIV. The extra syllable before the caesura (Kt. 144). Many instances of such an extra syllable undoubtedly occur. Whether we are to suppose that -e before the caesura was ever pronounced when the next word begins with a consonant, is a question. The following list contains all the instances which can possibly be cited as supporting the theory of an extra syllable (not including words coming before weak *h*):

1. -e. (a) Weak nouns: *balke*, 62; *folde*, 334; *herte*, 135; *mone*, 1057, 1072, 1081; *reue*, 542; *sunne*, 982, 1076; *tonge*, 898; *wele*, 133.

(b) Masc. and neut. nouns with -e or -u in OE.: *bale*, 18, 373; *ende*, 186; *ryche*, 722.

(c) Fem. nouns in OE. -u: *hele*, 713; *menske*, 162; *note*, 155; *saghe*, 226; *tale*, 311.

(d) Monosyllabic fem. nouns with long stem syllable: *blysse*, 658, 853, 959; *blybe*, 354; *heste*, 633; *hyre*, 523, 534, 543, 583, 587; *kyste*, 271; *myrbe*, 92, (mirbe) 1149; *payne*, 664; *quene*, 468; *raube*, 858; *rode*, 705; *sorȝe*, 352; *speche*, 235, 471; *strete*, 971; *stunde*, 20; *trawbe*, 495; *whyle*, 15; *worlde*, 65, 293, 424, 537.

(e) Masc. and neut. nouns that sometimes show an inorganic or dat. -e: *banke*, 196; *boke*, 837; *breste*, 222, 1103; *broke*, 141; *burne*, 397; *cllyffe*, 159; *daye*, 517, 541; *fote*, 350; *fryte*, 29; *golde*, 165; *gresse*, 245; *grounde*, 434; *gulte*, 942; *harme*, 681; *kynde*, 752; *lombe*, 413, 741, 830, 1127, 1129, (lambe) 757; *lorde*, 304, 513, 526, 557, 632, 795; *lyste*, 173, 908; *mote*, 855; *mynde*, 1154; *rourde*, 112; *sede*, 34; *songe*, 882, 891; *sope*, 292; *twynne*, 251; *vyse*, 254 (< OF. *vis*); *werke*, 599; *gere*, 503, 505.

(f) Romance nouns with inorganic -e: *acorde*, 509; *auenture*, 64; *blame*, 715; *coroune*, 205; *corte*, 701; *crysopase*, 1013; *date*, 529¹; *dystresse*, 280; *gemme*, 266; *glayue*, 654; *grace*, 623, 625; *gyle*, 671; *huee*, 842; *ioye*, 128, 1197; *mote* ("city"), 948, 973; *perle*, 12, 24, 36, 48, 53, 60, 221, 228, 229, 242, 282, 330, 732, 733, 756, 902, 1038, 1104, 1173; *perre*, 1028 (< OF. *perrée*); *place*, 405; *sardonysse*, 1006; *saule*, 845; *spyce*, 938; [s]tresse, 124 (the emendation is Gollancz's); *trone*, 835, 1051, 1055, (throne) 1113; *vine*, 504, 521, 535.

(g) Proper names: *Marye*, 425.

¹ If we adopt Gollancz's reading, At date of the day, the -e will be removed; but cp. *daye*, 517, 541.

(h) Monosyllabic definite (weak) adjs.: *dere*, 1208; *fyrste*, 548; *furbe*, 1005; *laste*, 547, 571.

(i) Monosyllabic strong adjs.: *clene*, 972; *colde*, 50; *dere*, 1183; *ebe*, 1202; *grete*, 470; *large*, 609; *nerre*, 233; *quyte*, 220, 844; *sade*, 211; *schene*, 80; *smohe*, 6; *worbe*, 100.

(j) Plu. of monosyllabic adjs. and pps.: *alle*, 73, 404, 467, 545, 739, 777; *bope*, 1056; *fele*, 1114; *none*, 440; *summe*, 508.

(k) Romance adjs.: *plesaunte*, 1; *ravyste*, 1088.

(l) Advs., preps., and cnjs.: (α) Advs.: *alone*, 933; *byfore*, 172, 1110; *efte*, 332; *euermore*, 666; *forbe*, 150; *fyrre*, 347; *here*, 399; *ille*, 1177; *more*, 1190; *quere*, 376; *venne*, 1003. (β) Preps.: *byfore*, 294; *bygonde*, 158. (γ) Cnjs.: *byfore*, 530.

(m) Verbs, pres. ind.: *leue*, 876; *oge*, 552; *raue*, 363; *stande*, 514.

(n) Verbs, pres. sjc.: *forbede*, 379; *forloyne*, 368; *leue*, 865.

(o) Strong prets.: *swange*, 1059; *werne*, 585.

(p) Weak prets.: *burde*, 316; *lyste*, 181; *sayde*, 289, 602, 965; *sette*, 52; *sozte*, 730.

(q) Reduplicating prets.: *hygte*, 305.

(r) Imperatives: *forsake*, 743.

(s) Infinitives: *abyde*, 348; *calle*, 721; *haue*, 928; *klymbe*, 678; *laste*, 956; *lenge*, 261; *loue*, 1124; *make*, 176; *passse*, 299, 707; *stryke*, 1125; *telle*, 134; *temple*, 903; *hole*, 344; *wende*, 643; *wrybe*, 488.

(t) Perf. participles: (α) Strong verbs: *calle*, 572; *fonde*, 283, (fonte) 327. (β) Weak verbs: *keste*, 66.

2. Unaccented terminations ending in a consonant.

(a) -est: *blybest*, 1131.

(b) -en: *coruen*, 40; *drawen*, 1193; *founden*, 1203; *heuen*, 490; *knawen*, 637; *laden*, 874 (cp. *lade*, 1146); *reken*, 5; *selden*, 380; *standen*, 1148; *stoken*, 1065; *wroken*, 375.

(c) -es: (α) Nouns: *apocalyppez*, 996, 1020, (apocalyppee) 1008, (appocalyppee) 866; *bales*, 807; *barnez*, 712, 1040; *bemex*, 83; *bestes*, 886; *bonkes*, 931; *bryddes*, 93; *clerkes*, 1091; *corounes*, 451; *corsess*, 857; *craftes*, 890; *dayes*, 416; *feres*, 1150; *flaoures*, 87; *flowres*, 208; *forhedes*, 871; *gates*, 1106; *gemmes*, 991; *glodes*, 79; *gyftes*, 607; *holtes*, 921; *hwes*, 90; *klyfftes*, 74; *kythes*, 1198; *launces*, 978; *lures*, 358; *maydenes*, 869; *membres*, 458; *meres*, 140 (if we adopt the reading proposed by Holthausen, Bytwen|ē meres || by myrch|es made), 1166; *modes*, 884; *myddes*, 740; *notes*, 883; *perles*, 82, 204, 856, 1102, 1112, 1212; *plontes*, 104; *porchases*, 439; *randes*, 105; *resounes*, 716; *rokkes*, 68; *skylles*, 54; *spysses*, 25; *sterres*, 115; *stones*, 997 (cp. III 2 a β N. 2); *sydes*, 198, 218; *synghettes*, 838; *systes*, 1179; *bowsandes*, 1107; *browes*, 875; *vergynes*, 1099; *vyues*, 785; *webbes*, 71; *weltes*, 154; *wones*, 917; *wordes*, 307; *wortes*, 42; *wyges*, 579. (β) Advs.: *anendes*, 975; *elles*, 32. (γ) Verbs: *byddes*, 520; *bygynnes*, 561; *commes*, 848; *deuysses*, 995; *dyspleses*, 455; *fares*, 129; *gaynes*, 343; *glades*, 861; *lestes*, 269; *loues*, 403; *marres*, 23; *menes*, 937; *motes*, 613; *passes*, 753; *stykes*, 1186; *trawes*, 295; *wrytes*, 1033.

NOTE. Cp. ix 1, tenB. 227.

(d) -ed : *baptysed*, 818 ; *blusched*, 1083 ; *blysned*, 1048 ; *called*, 273 ; *departed*, 378 ; *deuysed*, 1021 ; *dubbet*, 97 ; *endured*, 476 ; *eschaped*, 187 ; *excused*, 281 ; *fayled*, 270 ; *folged*, 127 ; *fordolked*, 11 ; *forfeted*, 619 ; *iugged*, 804 ; *lemed*, 1043 ; *longed*, 144 ; *lyued*, 776 ; *meled*, 589 ; *passed*, 428 ; *payred*, 246 ; *poyned*, 217 ; *prayed*, 1192 ; *pyked*, 1036 ; *restored*, 659 ; *sayd*, 593 ; *semed*, 760 ; *sparred*, 1169 ; *tyged*, 464 ; *wayted*, 14.

(e) Consonant + -le, -re : *enle*, 849 ; *symple*, 1134 ; *table*, 1004 ; *temple*, 1062 ; *chambre*, 904 ; *purpre*, 1016.

(f) -el : *apostel*, 985, (*appostel*) 1053 ; *gospel*, 498 ; *habel*, 676 ; *pobbel*, 117 ; *ydel*, 515, 533.

(g) -er : *after*, 256 ; *better*, 341 ; *bygger*, 374 ; *byggynner*, 436 ; *ceuer*, 319 ; *chylder*, 714, 718 ; *clwyper*, 802 ; *cofer*, 259 ; *enter*, 966 ; *euier*, 617 ; *fader*, 639, 736 ; *forser*, 263 ; *fynger*, 466 ; *hyder*, 249 ; *iasper*, 1026 ; *lenger*, 180 ; *moder*, 435 ; *myryer*, 850 ; *nawber*, 485, 751 ; *neuer*, 4, 19, 333, 367, 724, 916 ; *ofer*, 621 ; *oper*, 449, 773 ; *ouer*, 318 ; *saffer*, 118 ; *sauter*, 698 ; *suffer*, 954 ; *syluer*, 77 ; *tyder*, 723, 946 ; *water*, 107, 122, 139, 230, 365, 647, 650, 1077, 1156.

(h) -y : *cumly*, 775 ; *cyty*, 986, (*cite*) 1097, (*cyte*) 939 ; *frely*, 1155 ; *glory*, 70, 171, 934 ; *gostly*, 185 ; *heuy*, 1180 ; *holy*, 618 ; *lady*, 491 ; *lowly*, 565 ; *mersy*, 383, (*mercy*) 670 ; *meyny*, 899, 925 ; *pené*, 562, (*peny*) 614 ; *rybe*, 1007 ; *synglerty*, 429 ; *worby*, 616 ; *worbyly*, 47.

(i) Miscellaneous : *baptem*, 653 (cp. ix 6) ; *fenyxx*, 430 ; *kyndom*, 445 ; *lufsum*, 398 ; *mornnyng*, 262 ; *payment*, 598 ; *spyryt*, 61 ; *welkyn*, 116 ; *worschyp*, 394.

XV. Seven-syllable lines.

1. Lines which lack the initial syllable of the opening iambus :

1, 27, 29, 73, 75, 89, 111, 132, 133, 145, 163, 193, 194, 195, 196 (note the quatrain of like verses), 202, 217, 229, 246, 257, 289, 291, 325, 353, 358 (possibly a word has been omitted after &), 379, 388, 433, 435, 447, 469, 471, 479, 524 (unless we accept Gollancz's emendation, I [will] you pray), 537, 545, 558, 559, 561, 564, 569, 573, 616, 635, 638, 646, 650, 661, 699, 706, 709, 717, 725, 755, 756, 760, 781, 807, 822, 830, 853, 859, 885, 912, 928, 961, 963, 977, 999, 1002, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1093, 1109, 1120, 1173.

Of seven-syllable lines as given above there are 77, or one to every 15.73 lines. 20 of these lines begin stanzas : that is to say, in one-fifth of the whole number of stanzas this slight variation of the movement occurs at the outset.

2. Lines which lack a syllable within the line :

As glemande glas || burnist broun, 990. This could be read, As glem | ande glas | [sé] || burn | ist broun, cp. glasse, 1025 ; but it seems better to accept Gollancz's emendation, [al] burnist broun.

NOTE. It may be added that over three hundred anapaestic feet are found, an average of one for every four lines. Only about forty trochaic feet are found.

XVI. Alliteration (tenB. 334).

1. Miss M. C. Thomas has rightly remarked (*Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, p. 6) that *The Pearl* is not written in alliterative measure. But it is prevailingly alliterative. If we consider only stressed syllables as alliterating with one another, only 387 lines, or 32 per cent., are without alliteration. The statistics of the lines showing alliteration are as follows:

Alliterating 2 stressed syllables.....	547,	45 per cent.		
“ 3 “ “	192,	16 “ “		
“ 4 “ “	49,	4 “ “		
Double, transverse, and introverted all...	37,	3 “ “		

Total number of alliterating lines.....825, 68 “ “

2. Double alliteration (type *aabb*) is found in 25 lines, e. g.,
No bonk so byg þat ðid me dereȝ, 102; In sauter is sayd a ȵerce ouerte, 593.

3. Transverse alliteration (type *abab*) occurs in 2 lines:
Blod & water of brode wounde, 650; þat ay schal laste withouten reles, 956.

4. Introverted alliteration (type *abba*) is found in 10 lines,
e. g.,

Bot þe water watȝ depe I dorst not wade, 143. Other lines are 56, 74, 287, 290, 862, 960, 1027, 1093, 1171.

5. Vowel alliteration occurs in only 46 lines, e. g., 261, 310, 545. Alliteration of a vowel with *h* is found in about 25 lines, e. g., 58, 210, 614, 679.

SUMMARY.

1. Weak *-e* is elided before a vowel and usually before *h*, though sometimes preserved in the definite article. Hiatus of weak *-e* before *h* is rarely found.

2. It is probable that, in general, final unstressed *-e* before consonants, as written in this poem, was not sounded; but the

poet felt at liberty, in the case of many words—some occurring in stock alliterative phrases—to sound *-e* for the sake of metre.

3. The great number of words in which final *-e* is written but unsounded, as compared with the few which sound an *-e* not written, tends to confirm the theory of Fick and Knigge that the copyist of the ms. spoke Sth. or SWMl. So far as *-e* is concerned, it is not necessary to suppose, as Gollancz conjectures, that the dialect is artificial.

4. Close *-e* is elided before a vowel or *h*, in *me*, *þe*, *we*, *he*, *ne* ("neque"), when the metre demands it; close *-e* in other words is rarely elided. Hiatus is frequent.

5. Final *-o* is sometimes slurred before vowels, rarely before *h*. Final *-y* is sometimes united by synclisis with the vowel of the following word.

6. In the treatment of weak *-e* in two successive syllables and of weak *-e* inserted between *v* and a strong syllable, and in apocope of weak *-e* immediately after the main stressed syllable, the *Pearl* poet agrees in general with Chaucer.

7. In final syllables when the noun accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding, *-eȝ* is syllabic in rather more than half the number of instances, and always after *c*, *ss*, *s*, *sh*, *ch*, *g*, and mute + liquid (as in Chaucer); *-ed*, *-de* of the pret. is usually slurred, but is always syllabic after roots ending in *t* or *d*; *-en* in the inflection of the verb and in the pp. is usually slurred and in other words shows a tendency to slur; *-er* is usually slurred; *-el* slurs about as often as not.

8. In the treatment of interior unstressed *-e*, the tendency is decidedly toward syncopation. Some instances are found of syncope of other vowels and of *-th-*, *-v-*, and possibly *-wh-*.

9. Few unmistakable instances of apocope of consonants occur.

10. Synizesis occurs regularly.

11. It seems probable that weak *-e* before the caesura was not sounded.

12. Seventy-seven lines lack the initial syllable, of which twenty are found at the beginning of the stanza.

13. Alliteration of stressed syllables is found in a little more than two-thirds of the whole number of lines. It appears to have been neither carefully sought after nor avoided.

14. At the end of the verse *-e* may have been sounded up to a later date than when occurring in the middle of the verse. The final determination of the question probably rests on an examination of the rimes, which I intend to make and the results of which I hope soon to publish.

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